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NEW YORK, APRIL 2, 1899.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

NEWARK, N. J.

Municipal Campaign. The Platform & Candidates.

For Members of Board of Public Works:



JAMES E. BILLINGS.



DANIEL J. DUGGAN.

"Trustee of City Home"



WILLIAM WALKER.

Aldermanic Candidates:
3d Ward—FRANK W. WILSON.
6th Ward—MARKY CARLESS.
10th Ward—EDWARD L. KLUMP.
12th Ward—KARL IHLING.
13th Ward—ALBERT HOEFLE.
14th Ward—JULES MAGNETTE.

School Commissioners:
3d Ward—ARMIN FISCHER.
10th Ward—VALENTINE DESCH.
12th Ward—GERARD FRANZEN.
14th Ward—ANDREW P. WITTEL.

Justices of the Peace:
3d Ward—HERMAN HARTUNG.
12th Ward—DAVID RUBOVITZ.
14th Ward—JACOB LAWN.

Constables:
3d Ward—HENRY WEISS.

THE PLATFORM.

Fellow Wagoners:—The Socialist Labor party again calls your attention to the fact that land and capital, the basis of production and distribution, without which we cannot live as civilized beings, are in the hands of the capitalist class. As a consequence, you are forced to sell your labor to that class for wages. Your wages are determined by and through the operation of the law of supply and demand. When the supply exceeds the demand, the price of labor, the wage, falls; when the demand exceeds the supply, the wage rises. We now see in all industries the increasing use of machinery, which displaces thousands of working men, thereby increasing the supply of labor out of all proportion to the demand.

The consequence is that the wages of labor, its price, steadily declines under the operation of the law of supply and demand, and as long as the capitalist system continues, we propose the only possible remedy, the public ownership of land and capital. To establish a Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the means of production and distribution shall be owned and operated in the interest of the whole Nation, is the mission of the Socialist Labor party.

The class interests of capitalists are such that they will as a class oppose this proposition. All capitalists are united, and so, therefore, are their parties, be they Democratic, Republican or Prohibitionist. The fundamental principle of capitalist policy is that labor must be bought at its exchange value, while its use value is by them exploited. In other words, that the capitalist system must be upheld. On the other hand, the interests of all useful workers are

alike everywhere, at all times and under all circumstances. It is plain, that each and every worker for wages, be his occupation intellectual or manual, has direct interest in gaining the political power; not to be used against one another, but against all political parties of the capitalists. Working class politics, National, State and city, must be our rallying cry until we wrest the powers of Government from the capitalist class, and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth. In accordance with this belief, we present our city programme.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

Whereas, Enforced idleness, resulting from the constant displacement of labor by machinery without any provision for the re-employment of the displaced workers, is to a steadily growing extent the chief evil of the capitalist system; its effects being most felt in cities, our financial resources, even if they were vastly greater than they now are, may vainly be exhausted in public charities for the relief of misery or in police and prison expenditures for the repression of immorality and crime.

Resolved, That in dealing with the municipal questions forced upon their consideration by all the social evils which naturally flow from enforced idleness, the Socialist officials shall never fail to remind the people of the fact that the unemployed need only free access to the means of production and distribution, socially owned and operated, in order to provide for themselves a far better living than they could obtain in the service of capitalists; and that, until such free access is provided by the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, all they can do is to liberally grant funds for the immediate relief of the distressed, and the employment of the idle on public works and in municipal industries.

MUNICIPAL FRANCHISES.

Whereas, The privilege of performing certain public services and functions, involving the use of public property and the exercise of the public right to levy taxes (in the various forms of dues, fares, rentals, etc.), upon the person to which such necessary services are rendered, has been unduly and corruptly granted to private corporations, who have used and abused the said privilege for their own unlimited enrichment, watered their stocks in order to conceal their scandalous profit, violated their charters and contracts, evaded taxation, and sacrificed human life to their greed.

Resolved, That every official elected by the Socialist Labor party shall, within the sphere of his functions, diligently work for the absolute and unconditional recovery, by the city, of the municipal franchises, privileges, rights and property that have already been alienated to private corporations, and against any further such grant or alienation under any circumstances or upon any conditions whatsoever; to the end that all such franchises be operated by the city.

Whereas, It has heretofore been the practice of the municipal bodies to carry on their affairs on the so-called "business-principles" of capitalism, namely, high salaries, fees or perquisites for the idle bosses, and low wages for the industrious employees; so that the worker in the public service is, like the worker in private employment, robbed of three-quarters of the value produced by his manual or intellectual exertions;

Resolved, That Socialist officials shall vigorously urge the application of the fundamental principles of the Co-operative Commonwealth to all municipal services, as far as possible under present conditions: They shall, in particular insist upon the following demands:

1.—The election by the employees, of their respective foremen, superintendents and other officers not elected by a general vote of the people.

2.—A minimum salary supplemented by an equal distribution, among the employees, of a portion of the surplus value (or profit) which, produced by their joint labor, is now appropriated by the directors and stockholders of corporations.

3.—Another portion of the surplus shall be set aside as a pension fund for the aged and a relief fund for the sick employees of the municipality.

4.—The remaining portion shall be applied to the maintenance and extension of the said public services, the price of which shall be reduced to the people to the extent of the saving permanently effected by mechanical and other improvements.

HOME FOR THE PEOPLE.

Whereas, Every improvement in transportation, communication and public service of any kind, by raising the value of real estate, has merely enabled the landlords to extract higher rents, besides affording enlarged opportunities to the mercantile class for trading upon the necessities of the population; and

Whereas, This class confiscation of benefits that should be equally shared in by all classes will of necessity continue so long as the people remain at the mercy of landlords and traders for shelter, subsistence and fuel;

Resolved, That the municipality shall by a proper exercise of the right of eminent domain, acquire all the vacant lots and land within its boundaries, for the purpose of erecting thereon comfortable houses to be let out to working people at rentals, calculated on cost of building, annual repairs and administrative expenses.

Resolved, That the Socialist officials shall favor the establishment of municipal coal yards, drug stores and other

THE MISSION OF THE S. L. P.

[An address made by Thomas Lawry, of Section Seattle, Wash., at a propaganda meeting of the Section, held Dec. 11, 1898.]

All honest people love fair play. It is not fair play to pass judgment before hearing. It is just as unfair to pronounce judgment where the hearing is tainted with bias.

If Socialists were what they are usually charged to be by press and lecture bureau, the orthodox churchman's devil would be a saint in comparison. Fortunately, intelligent, capable students of economics, who are by no means Socialists, are everywhere found to give the lie to a venal press and rostrum, and frequently to show the price paid the hirelings for giving birth to false and malignantly unfair charges against Socialism.

I am here, this evening, to declare to you the mission of the Socialist Labor party. But before I begin, I think it my duty to tell you just what this party is, and what it is not.

The Socialist Labor party is not a reform party. It is an organization of men united for political-economic purposes which, consummated, would entirely change our present system, by substituting for its senseless and brutalizing competition in producing and distributing the things we need (and must have if we would live properly), the collective ownership by ALL the people of ALL THE MEANS used in the production and distribution of such necessities.

When I said the Socialist Labor party is not a reform party, I meant it was not such in the ordinary meaning of that word, "reform." The sole aim of such parties is changing part of the present iniquitous system. The Socialist Labor party says that even if such changes were brought about they would at best only be palliatives; that they would not, to any practical extent, benefit the people. It says that present economic conditions are such that nothing but a complete change, or revolution of our entire system of economics—from private ownership of the source and tools of production to collective ownership of the same—will, to any appreciable degree, minimize the awful suffering and misery existing on every hand, and in every country.

Now, which policy is the best? Because it seems to me that we ought to pursue the best course in working for economic emancipation. To answer this, we must study social conditions of peoples, past and present.

It cannot be denied that there is, and always has been, land enough to grow all the edible necessary to the human family.

It cannot be denied that Nature, taking the whole world into consideration, has ever been ready with her elements to do her share in helping the land give its increase.

I take it, also, that the time never has been since our so-called civilization began that man has not possessed sufficient labor power (which, under proper conditions, he would exercise) to produce at least enough to maintain him.

If these things be true, then it ought to follow that man has always been, in the societies we have been prone to call civilized, if not in comfortable condition, neither in actual want.

Yet how has he been? The pages of ancient, mediæval and modern history are replete with accounts of men, women and children in every land and clime, vainly fighting against want and dying of starvation. You can imagine the poverty of a people who would sell themselves into slavery as many ancient people did—and as some poor coal miners tried to do in this country.

Cries of "bread or blood" have been common in all European lands for ages, and thousands starve to death annually in nearly every so-called civilized country. In fact you can scarcely find a metropolitan newspaper that does not chronicle sufferings, privations and poverty that makes one's heart sick to read.

To cite particular instances of great bodies of people starving to death at times when there was abundance to eat, and dying of cold when there was plenty of clothing and shelter, would be, practically, to charge you with not being readers or hearers of thousands-of-times told tales. One of the saddest features of this wholesale suffering is the fact that most of those who suffered were denied the right to work to produce that which they needed.

Now, the mission of the Socialist Labor party is to show how and why it is and (in civilized (?) countries) always has been that though there was always enough land, air, rain and sunshine, and willingness to work on the part of the great masses of the people, coupled with sufficient labor power, that there has always been so much want, and misery and awful degradation among the great body of mankind. Its mission, also, is to show the people a remedy for these great evils.

Speculative theories find very little room to grow in the Socialist Labor party. It is facts we want to discuss, facts we want to learn, and facts we desire to promulgate.

Whether man came in the manner pointed out by the Bible, or according to the theory of Darwin, it is a fact that he came. It is also a fact that he is still here. It is a further fact that he had nothing to do with his own coming. And if I did not go a step farther in investigating his rights I would from these facts alone, the fact of his being here and having nothing whatever to do with his own coming, conclude that THEREFORE his right to live and enjoy liberty and pursue happiness, is equal to that of any other person. But we do not stop there. No

man ever created a foot of earth, or a drop of water, or a molecule of atmospheric air, or a ray of sunshine—not a particle of any kind of matter. In coming he brought nothing; in living he creates nothing, and in departing he leaves nothing that he has made. Now, do not misunderstand me when I say man creates nothing. I speak that word in its true, scientific sense. Of course, he transforms everything by his labor; thus, assisted by nature, producing all those things essential to his existence.

These are self-evident facts and prove that, in material matters, except his right to the use of those things needed to sustain and enjoy life, he has no others. Furthermore, things are created in their natural element. Fishes are not born on land, nor man in water. We are in our elements when on the land drinking in the air, rain and sunshine, and feeding upon what these elements, coupled with our labor power produce. In them and part of them; hence they are ours—OURS, not someone else's—and any system tending to deprive any of us of the use of the things we need is wrong.

The entire history of man is that he is a social creature—that he will not live other than in a state of society with his fellow man. This has wonderfully to do with the deplorable conditions always existing up to the present, and if you bear this in mind, it will help you follow me in my efforts to show the cause of the conditions, and point the remedy therefor.

In the plan of life it is necessary for man to toil to exist. Not a want can he be satisfied without work. And if he does not work to sustain himself, then some other person, or persons, must labor, not only to sustain himself, herself, or themselves, but, in addition, must work also to sustain such idle person. This is an inexorable law—a law of nature.

Except where one is aged, or young, or infirm, or feeble-minded, no honest person can conceive why any one man, or set of men, should compel any other person, or set of persons, to work for the maintenance of such idlers as well as the workers themselves. Yet as far back as history extends, and in every country, we find one class of men bearing all the burdens, and doing all the useful work, and another class doing nothing useful yet privately owning the land—the source of production, making and executing the laws, lordling it over its fellows, and living on the fat of the land.

When the curtains of recorded his-



THE PEOPLE'S MAY-DAY-ISSUE,

to be published Sunday, April 30, will be especially interesting.

Its special feature will be articles illustrating the standing and development of the Labor Movement in general, and of Socialism in particular, in the several States where the S. L. P. is organized; and also in Canada.

The articles will be written by comrades familiar with, and prominent in the local movement. Also articles bearing upon the internationality of Socialism, and all the regular and striking features of THE PEOPLE.

Last but not least, the front page will be illuminated by an allegorical picture, especially designed for that issue, by THE PEOPLE'S able artist, whose work has won so much and deserved appreciation.

The size of this issue will be

Eight Pages.

It will be an excellent issue for agitation. Sections and comrades should hasten to make use of this rare opportunity to spread our ideas by acquainting friends and co-workers with THE PEOPLE.

We expect to receive sufficient orders to be able to print not less than 75,000 copies.

Orders will be taken till Tuesday, April 25th, inclusive. But the earlier the better.

In order to encourage an extensive distribution the price will be: for orders of 100 copies or less, 1 CENT a copy; for orders from 100 to 500 copies, 3-4 CENT a copy, and for orders of 500 or more copies, 1-2 CENT a copy; all cash in advance.

Spread the May-Day People from ocean to ocean! A good Harvest is bound to follow.

"The People", 184 William St. Box 1812 - - N. Y. City.

tory rise upon what is called civilization, thousands of years ago, we find on the banks of the Nile the Egyptian people, wonderful in their possessions, knowledge and population. The king, the priests and the military owned all the laws. The tillers of the soil, the trade workers, and in fact all others who worked at useful labor, were barred from owning anything or making any laws. In fact, so arbitrary was their class station in life fixed, that whatever one was born to, that could he follow and no other occupation.

Babylonia, sometimes called Chaldea, was governed in practically the same way, and her people divided into castes, as in Egypt.

In Assyria things were slightly different in form. No hereditary caste was known, but there were nobles who were such at the pleasure of the king. The king was the State. His word was supreme even unto death. He gave unto a body of eunuchs the right to make laws, which he might at any time revoke. The only thing that remained to the people was the right to petition the king in case of public wrong or neglect. This was about the same as what now remains to the great American people, and that it resulted similarly, history informs us.

Perhaps in ancient history there existed no more powerful king, or aristocracy than the Phoenicians; and tales of their cruelty, both of high priests and rulers, are as horrible as any met with in ancient history.

The Hebrews, whether under kings or in a republic, always had their landowners and money-mongers, i. e., usurers, and the sufferings of the commoners—becoming so poverty-stricken that they would sell themselves into bondage—by the exploiting of an upper class is known to every student of Biblical or profane history.

The Medes and Persians were classified into a king (who was the State), the seven princes, and the Magi, or judges. All the rest of the people, divided into agricultural and artisan classes, did all the useful work, but had no say in governing, law-making, or land-owning.

The castes of India and China are proverbial, and to mention the wars of the Helots in Sparta, and the terms "plebeian" and "patrician" convey to every man of ordinary reading their own meaning.

So in all those olden countries there were, in ancient times, one class of men who did all the useful work, and who had no part in the ownership of the land, or the making of laws regulating economic action, and one class who made and administered the laws governing economic conditions, and who privately owned the land, then the only thing needed to earn a living by.

Then came middle history with its feudal conditions, when class distinctions grew a little more pronounced. The military with a king constituting the ruling class, and all the rest of the peoples of nearly every land being absolute slaves—people who passed to new owners of the land, as it was sold, as any other chattel, and who, practically, had no rights which their superiors were bound to respect. The "good old times" when common people were not even supposed to have souls, much less to own anything. The times when profligacy grew with mushroom growth, and the excesses of men in high places came to be frightful. The very excesses of these men, however, sometimes caused them, here and there, to barter away the ownership of their serfs for special considerations.

In other instances they would oppress them until as an act of simple preservation, the poor vassal would take a degree of freedom by force. Then there came to be a time when to free the serf from the land, and to force them into manufacturing occupations suited the newly developing exploiting class better. This resulted in changing from the feudal system—a system that, at least, had the merit of giving every man a chance to live, even though he were attached to the land—to the present capitalist system of producing co-operatively and on gigantic plan the things needed for man's use and enjoyment for the profit of the man owning the factory and the tool of production—not for the use of the co-operative producer of the necessities. And, thanks to the inventive faculty of man, this system of allowing private ownership of the means of production and distribution of those things we need to live, we have raised up the greatest exploiters that the world has ever seen. These have become our "Captains" and "Barons" of industry, yet who, like the lilly of the valley mentioned in the Bible, "toil not neither do they spin."

They make the laws for the workers to keep, while they are above them. They own all the land, practically, as well as all the great means used to produce and distribute the wealth. Yet they never made the land, nor had they but little, if anything, to do with the making of the machines of production. These are necessary for all, hence, we say they should be the property of all; and the ownership should be common, that is to say, collective.

Why should the ownership of these natural and social elements needed to-day for production be collective? Why should men own these great means of producing and distributing wealth—the great mills, factories, railroads, and other productive and distributive factors—socially? Because, as I have already said, they are social creatures. Man joins with his fellows to live. He joins with his fellows to produce. You cannot mention one single article of production, to-day, that is not a social production. Go into the woods and whittle a tooth-pick—even the knife with which you fashioned it is the production of many hands of toilers working together. Then if they produce socially, so also should they own socially.

On our side, the side of Labor, stands the Socialist Labor party. Its demands in behalf of our class are clear-cut and straight to the point—ownership by the workers of all the instruments of labor

WORKINGMEN

Of Rhode Island, Strike Hard With the S. L. P. Hammer!

NOT MEEK NOR FALTERING.

'Tis no Longer a Case for Theorizing—Facts and Uniform Experience Attest to the Incapacity of the Democratic and Republican Parties to Cope With the Social Question—They Attest to the Capitalist Class Interest that these two Parties Represent and Safeguard—The Socialist Labor Party Alone Represents the Class Interests of the Working Class.

Fellow Workingmen:—The last few years of broken promises and of prosperity that persistently refused to materialize, have made a distinct difference in your attitude towards Socialist ideas. The word "Socialism" no longer frightens you into prejudice, and the way the Socialist Labor party vote is climbing up shows your readiness to stand by yourselves as a class once you recognize your common interests. And that the interests of all workingmen are common, events are proving with ever greater emphasis.

Notwithstanding the subsidized editorial upholders of the present order to the contrary, two facts stand out to-day more bold and glaring than ever, namely:

1st. The increasing injustice suffered by the working class.

2d. The zeal of the old political parties, Democrats and Republicans, to remove that injustice, is a hypocritical pretense.

Upon the first, the fact that the condition of the working class is steadily going from bad to worse, that jobs are fewer, wages lower, and general conditions of labor more difficult and oppressive, all workingmen, no matter what their political affiliations, are entirely agreed. As to the second fact, the dishonesty of the Democratic and Republican parties is too self-evident to make necessary any great argument. The results of the McKinley Administration show conclusively enough that, like its predecessor, the Cleveland Administration, it has done nothing and does not intend to do anything, either to keep its promises of unbounded prosperity, or to make possible any real improvement in the condition of us who toil for wages.

Therefore, starting from these premises, first, that our condition as a class is bad and needs improving, and second, that neither of the corrupt, boss-ridden, political parties is capable, or can be trusted to bring about that improvement, what are we to do?

These closing years of the nineteenth century find us more completely than ever at the mercy of greedy trusts and monopolies. In every conceivable line of industry combinations have been formed, capitalized in many cases way up into the hundreds of millions of dollars, until it has become a fact, admitted even by the opponents of Socialism, that within a very short time every branch of business capable of yielding a profit will be monopolized by a few individuals and operated for their own private profit. What that will mean to you and your class, fellow workingmen, is well worthy your thoughtful consideration. Complete mastery by a class that in these, the early stages of its power, furthers its own selfish ends with such utter disregard of all human rights, cannot but result in even greater misery and slavery for us.

Long experience has proven the Republican party to be the willing, subservient tool of this unprincipled class, and it is perfectly clear that any proposition or issue it may present, whether in town, city, state or national affairs, will be in the interests of its masters and against the interests of us workingmen. The Democratic party differs from the Republican only in that it has a most ardent desire to hold the position of lackey to the capitalist class, now filled so thoroughly by the Republican party. Far from desiring to make possible our freedom, both these parties are bent upon fastening the chains of wage slavery upon us more securely than ever.

Plainly enough, it is a class struggle that we are engaged in—an issue that must be fought out on strictly class lines. Our interests as wealth producers are distinctly different from those of the profit-seeking, monopoly-organizing class. We want all the wealth our labor makes possible; these stock-watering exploiters want as much of it as their scheming and conniving can secure to them.

Calmly and seriously, fellow workingmen, on which side to you choose to stand?

On the side of the capitalist class, the class of exploiters who rob us of what we produce, are all the political parties but one. However they may differ upon other things, these parties are a unit upon this, that the institution of private ownership in the instruments of labor must be maintained at any cost.

On our side, the side of Labor, stands the Socialist Labor party. Its demands in behalf of our class are clear-cut and straight to the point—ownership by the workers of all the instruments of labor

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) 2,068
In 1890 13,331
In 1892 (Presidential) 21,157
In 1894 33,133
In 1896 (Presidential) 36,564

In 1898 82,204

Rent and wages do not, indeed, depend in the least on the rate of taxation, or on the amount of public indebtedness, national, state, or municipal; or on any portion in which the cost of government is divided amongst the capitalists, who appropriate the surplus values created by the laboring class over and above its wages and out of which the said cost must necessarily be defrayed. The erroneous opinion to the contrary is, however, so widespread; it is so carefully nurtured among the masses by their capitalist despoilers, who naturally grudge to their political lackeys any portion of their spoils greater than is necessary for the maintenance of their robber system; in other words, the phrase "economic government" is so hypocritically misapplied and so universally misunderstood, that the truth here stated cannot be made too plain.

FROM S. L. P. MUNICIPAL PROGRAMME.

VOL. IX, NO. 1.

With this issue THE PEOPLE enters upon its ninth year. Each recurring anniversary has been the occasion for a retrospective review that testified rosy and ever rosier prospects. This law of THE PEOPLE'S existence has suffered no check. At the closing of its 8th and the opening of this 9th volume, it looks back over a year fuller than any yet with inspiring success, and guaranteeing, more than any previous one, magnificent progress to the Cause it stands for. During the last year, THE PEOPLE has doubled its paying circulation; with the week ending March 25, its circulation had risen to 11,770; its special orders run up the circulation to many more thousands a week; the deficit, incurred by the reduction of its price to one-half, is wiped out; and, as a practical reflex from such material groundwork, the area covered by the clear-headed, militant army of Socialism has increased vastly.

By this time, the giving of pledges is a superfluous performance. THE PEOPLE'S past course, voicing the spirit of the party, is an earnest of its future conduct. In the future, as in the past, and all the more encouraged thereby by its successful tactics, THE PEOPLE will know no path but the straight one; no policy but that dictated by an ample experience of the race, made at all the critical periods of its existence.

It is the light of folly, it is criminal cruelty to preach "Peace, peace" where there is no peace. In days of revolutionary construction, the words of the Prince of Peace are the words of deepest wisdom: "He who is not with us is against us; he who gathereth not with us scattereth." Movements of high humane aim can only miss their point by a yielding to sentimentality; again, in the language of the Prince of Peace such movements "come not to send peace on earth, but a sword"; the birth of a new civilization can not choose but go accompanied by the tearing of bonds, often the dearest.

Born, not for parade or for "business," but full awake to its mission, THE PEOPLE, true to the dignity of the S. L. P., will continue, undeterred, to hew close to the line, let the chips fall where they may; and, neither asking nor giving quarter, will do all in its power to shed light into darkness, bring order out of chaos, and hew broad and clear the path for our Army of Human Emancipation to march to the successful accomplishment of its work.

VOTE IT DOWN!

A constitutional amendment is to be voted on this week in Newark, N. J., that marks a double move of the capitalist class to eliminate the working class as a factor in the administration of the country.

Hitherto the members of the Board of Education were elected by Wards, each Ward electing two. So long as there was no intelligent Labor Movement in existence, and, consequently, no class-conscious political party of the working class, this method had no dangers in it, and had the merit of satisfying "local" vanities; with the advent and growth of the Socialist Labor party, the labor-deceiving class of Newark capitalists soon scented danger. A political organization rarely develops its strength uniformly all over a certain area; some quarters start first and become strongholds; the danger became palpable that the S. L. P. might carry a Ward. Experience in Pater-

son, and later in Holyoke, showed that the march of the class-conscious political organization of the working class to victory would come gradually,—not by a gradual, even increase of the vote over a whole city and then its suddenly complete capture, but by the successive capture of smaller constituencies. What that would mean, Messrs. Capitalists understood and sought to avoid. Accordingly, they are now proposing an amendment by which the Board of Education is to be elected, no longer by Wards, but at large, by the whole city. By this move it is sought to keep the working class out of the Board longer than it could be kept out under the existing methods.

Coupled with this mischievous amendment is another, looking to the same end, in fact, even more comprehensive. Even though the members of the Board of Education be henceforth elected at large, the danger of class-conscious workingmen getting in does not seem to be sufficiently barred by Messrs. Capitalists. To render assurance doubly sure, a further amendment is proposed: the members of the Board are to serve without pay; in other words, no workman, even if elected could fill his place; Messrs. Capitalists have seen and will further see to it that his wages be so low that he shall be incapacitated from giving his time for nothing.

It is as important to the working class that its children have good schooling as it is important to the capitalist class to prevent that: Ignorance is the handmaid of capitalist robbery. The machinery of education must be carefully guarded by the workers; that is one of their duties to the rising generation if they wish not, by encouraging ignorance in their own ranks, to raise recruits against themselves.

Workmen of Newark, vote that vile amendment down!

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

The Worcester, Mass., "Telegram" has lately been an interesting field of battle between a mongrel crew of anti-Socialists, on the one hand, and the Press Committee of Section Worcester, S. L. P., on the other. The latest shot is fired by the Committee. One J. W. Hall, one of the writers in the anti-Socialist camp, had criticized Socialism without knowing the first thing about it. Taking him up more in particular, the Press Committee of the Section gives an answer in which this witty passage occurs:

There is a story of a certain country blacksmith, who took an apprentice. In the course of a few weeks Tommy's mother called on the master saying that Tommy complained that he was not being initiated into the dark mysteries of the blacksmith's art as fast as he should be, considering his great natural abilities. In fact, he had learned nothing. Then, quoth this good man, the blacksmith, "So Tommy hasn't learned anything. Well, well, say ma'am, won't you please hand me that horseshoe by the side of the anvil?"

Ma'am, being of an obliging disposition, picked up the horseshoe and laid it down again, not carefully, nor with any particular design, but just let go and began to count her fingers in her mouth. Then this good man, the blacksmith, again remarked: "So Tommy hasn't learned anything. Well, well, say ma'am, won't you please hand me that horseshoe without first trying to see if it was hot?"

Moral: Never pick up an item with which you are unacquainted. Try it first. It may be hot.

The Jeanette, Pa., "Le Bourdon," the new Socialist paper in the French language, grapples well with the false cry, raised by fakirdom, that the Socialists are "union-wreckers." It says:

Ah! It is because the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is trades union that leaves no room for thimble-rigging, means no profits for fishy jobs, obtained one knows how by the job-holders placing themselves in the hire of capitalism, saying to the rank and file of the union: "No politics in unions," and thereupon exercising all their influence upon the members to induce these to endorse the Republican party as the "national protector of Labor," or some other capitalist party.

The second supplement to the "Socialist Almanac" (April number of "The People Library"—a publication issued under the auspices of the N. E. C. of the S. L. P.) is now in the hands of the printer and will be out in a few days.

It will contain:

1. An article entitled, "THE MIDDLE CLASS: ITS ORIGIN—ITS RISE—ITS DECLINE," wherein is vividly described the historic course of the CLASS STRUGGLE from the early days of feudalism to the present days of capitalism. This is a fit introduction to the history of Socialism, and necessary to the correct understanding of modern phenomena, economic, social and political, in all parts of the world.

2. A review of the "FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES," showing, by groups, the industries engaged in the international battle for commercial supremacy, which is now being fought between this and other capitalist countries upon the backs and at the expense of their respective working classes. The facts and figures in this review constitute a useful appendix to the article on "Territorial Expansion" published in the January number.

3. An article entitled, "THE NEW TRUSTS," presenting a correct statement of the present movement of trustification, with information of the highest value concerning the capital, possessions, object and directory of the gigantic corporations formed during the last few months.

4. An article entitled, "GERMAN TRADE UNIONISM," showing the progress and spirit of organizations

founded on the rock-bed of Socialism. 5. The S. L. P. election returns of California, by counties, and of the city of Greater New York, by Assembly districts, wards, and Congressional districts.

Organizers of Sections and comrades everywhere should prepare their orders and send same to the N. Y. Labor News Company, 147 East 23d street, New York City. Retail price of this number, 5 cents.

This supplement will be found invaluable by the speakers who will take the field in the approaching campaigns.

There should be appointed a "Committee on Uniformity" by the Labor Fakirs of the country. If that is not done soon these gentlemen will surely kick each other to pieces with their contradictory statements.

At the so-called convention of the so-called American Federation of Labor, Gompers said:

The condition of the European workingman becomes ever worse; look at Germany, for instance, the reason is that the European workingmen there are so foolish as to busy themselves with the building up of political organizations. The American workingman, on the contrary, has enjoyed a steady improvement in their condition.

And now comes the Cleveland, O., "Journal" of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' Union, and its Editor, the Labor Fakir E. J. Lynch, makes this utterance:

The pensions to the aged and infirm disbursed by the Government last year amounted to \$6,252,000. IN THIS COUNTRY THE POOR-HOUSES ARE THE LAST REFUGE OF THE AGED AND INFIRM.

Of course, we understand that one statement suited the fakir in one case, and an other statement suited the fakir in an other. In Kansas City, it suited Gompers to put himself in good standing with the capitalist class, in whose interest he has worked so long and so faithfully; in the "Journal" of the Metal Polishers, etc., it just now suits Lynch, who probably is disappointed in his expectations as the reward for his last year's article declaring that there was not in this State any ticket to be voted for except the Democratic and the Republican,—he probably now feels in a recriminating mood.

Nevertheless, it should seem that these periodical and personal interests should not be allowed to mar the needed uniformity of fakirs' attack. A national "Committee on Uniformity" is a crying need of the hour in fakirdom.

That the S. L. P. "bosses" are bosses indeed, bosses that make all others pale into colorless vacuity, can no longer be doubted after the following bit of news is read that ex-Governor Flower's New York "Times" publishes:

The members of the General Committee of the Socialist Labor party are determined to remain in power and to force adherents of the party to give their support or pain of expulsion from the party. There was an election for National Secretary last week. Of the two candidates, Henry Kuhn represented the committee and Emil Kirchner the progressive reform element. The vote was taken by the different Sections. The Section of the Socialist Liedertafel gave 6 votes for Kuhn and 49 votes for Kirchner. The Liedertafel is composed mainly of Socialists who years ago were expelled from Germany on account of their radical political opinions.

When the Liedertafel vote was sent in to the General Committee that body counted the six votes for Kuhn and threw out the other forty-nine. Then the General Committee expelled the Liedertafel from the Socialist Labor party for being untrue to the principles of the party.

What boss ever dared to do as much? Some there were and are who would, in order to secure a majority, throw out the vote of a district; they would be satisfied with securing thereby a victory to themselves, even though, by the throwing out of such a vote, they would somewhat lower their own; they would be satisfied with the greater loss of their adversary. But the S. L. P. "bosses," they go a good, long step further: they discriminate, they throw out the hostile vote of an organization and COUNT THE VOTE that is in their favor.

Superlative bosses! Pity that the facts in the case, published elsewhere in this issue in the report of the General Committee of Section Greater New York, materially spoil the whole picture of Rife-diet-to-the-workingmen Flower's "Times."

Cameron H. King, Jr., a student at Stanford University, has in the San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle" this excellent and pathetic presentation of the small farmers' class:

The struggling middle class farmers are one would think, a docile set, thoroughly subjected to capitalist rule. Once they were the rulers of this land—each man boasted himself a Cincinnatus—we were all simple sturdy Democrats. So on the coast, arms of many States we find the plowman by his plow, typical of a society resting on an agricultural basis. There, every rod of ground maintained its man.

But now, how are they fallen? They are "hayseeds," "cranky, unscientific country folk." Why these new names? Simply because the 30 and 40 acre farmer's class is no longer the ruling class. The city factory lords allied with the bonanza farmers are now the ruling class. They represent the small fellow in the industrial struggle and now stand, their feet upon his neck adding insult to injury by calling him "cranky" or dishonest when he struggles.

Not content with being victors the robber class in control of the government proceeds to crow over the vanquished. Just as the old Roman Emperor tyrants stamped their image on coins to make themselves known and worshipped to their transmute subjects, so our modern capitalists, in honor of their conquest of the farmers, commemorate the Transmississippi Congress by issuing stamps adorned with a picture of a bonanza farm—the cause of the ruin of the small farmers, a typical capitalist country. Thus do they gloat over their victims and signalize their victory—taunting the farmer with the means of his destruction.

Let the farmers grapple with this foe not with their eyes looking backward to the olden time of toil and scant reward, but looking forward to the Socialist future of cooperative work producing plentiful wealth for all.

MAY DAY IN NEW YORK.

To the Trade and Labor Organizations of the City of New York.

In the year 1889 the International Labor Congress, then assembled at Paris, instituted the First of May as International Labor Day. The original purpose was to make known to the ruling class, by means of imposing demonstrations, the immediate demands of the workers:—A normal eight-hour working day; regulation of the labor of women and children; legal protection to the life and limb of the workers. It was to proclaim that the workers of all countries were united in demanding immediate relief through these measures.

But every programme of the working class that truly represents its interests, as opposed to the interests of the capitalist class, must sooner or later lead to the acceptance of the complete Socialist programme. Its immediate demands as well as its ultimate aims, protection to the immediate interests of the working class as well as its total emancipation.

Originally intended to express those demands of the workers, whose fulfillment is necessary to their very existence as workers, the First of May has become the International Labor Day of the class-conscious, revolutionary proletariat the world over.

Last year a brutal Chief of Police prevented us from holding our May Day demonstration. The war fever was just on, and the Socialist Labor party fearlessly exposed the rascally schemes of the capitalist class, and foretold the dire results that would follow. Our arguments being irrefutable, we were simply muzzled.

To-day the truth of our arguments, illuminated by the torch-light of Socialist science, are apparent to all the world. Standing armies are being raised, foreign nations conquered, new markets opened up, and the rule of the capitalist class firmly consolidated. The brutal policy of our government at home and abroad, together with the rapid multiplication of trusts, and the consequent driving out of the small man from one branch of trade after another, have opened the eyes of thousands of workmen and made them more willing to listen to us and join us in our work. This was manifested by the large increase in our vote in the last elections throughout the country.

The workmen of New York, who have ever been foremost in the battle against our oppressors, must see to it that they do not lag behind in the forward march of the proletariat of the nation. The disgrace of last year must be wiped out by an imposing rally, which should at once be a manifestation of our unbroken spirit and of our determination to advance in spite of all obstacles. Never before was our duty more plainly prescribed to us, never before did the hope of success shine more brightly on our proud and unswerving banners.

We, therefore, invite all progressive bodies within the City of New York to send two delegates to a conference, to be held on Saturday, April 1, 8 p. m., at Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, New York, to devise ways and means and make necessary arrangements.

The Executive Committee of SECTION NEW YORK, S. L. P.

PRODDING THE ANIMILES.

HOLYOKE, Mass., March 27.—Our Mayor, in his inaugural address, recommended that the \$250,000 worth of Holyoke and Westfield Railroad bonds, which the city owns and where it controls that railroad, should be sold. To please the Mayor, Alderman Westphal, Rep., introduced an order asking for a committee to consist of the Mayor, City Treasurer, President of the Board of Aldermen and the Treasurer of the Railroad Company to consider the advisability of selling the bonds, the committee to report their findings at the first meeting of the Board of Aldermen in March. Socialist Alderman Rutherford jumped upon the move with both feet. He denounced it as "a movement of the railroad companies upon the chess-board of speculation." March has passed, but no report was made by the committee. Stick a pin there to mark the fact, that's all.

The last meeting of the Board came near ending in a great Republican jubilee but for that bad Socialist Alderman, who seems to spoil everything. A committee from the Board of Trade was present asking that a committee of five Aldermen be appointed to work jointly with the Board of Trade and inviting President McKinley to come to Holyoke in June. It was also stated that all the mills should shut down to give the workmen a chance to see, if not prosperity, at least the Advance Agent in lieu of the prosperity that has been promised for nearly three years but has not yet arrived at Holyoke. Up jumps the Socialist saying that the workers would be glad to have a holiday but it should not be expected of them to celebrate it at the sacrifice of a day's wages; that the employers who want this celebration should not only grant the holiday but a holiday with full wages. This was too much for the second house (the spectators), who are always present in large numbers, and a shout of approval went up, much to the discomfort of the boss Aldermen who couldn't see the fun of the thing at all.

LECTURES.

R. F. KEINARD, "The Class Struggle," free agricultural illustrated lecture, Monday, April 3, Society Hall, 231 East 33d street, N. Y.

The same lecture will be delivered Tuesday, April 4, 8 p. m., northwest corner of 84th street and Third avenue; and Wednesday, April 5, 140th street and Third avenue (30th and 35th A. D's), N. Y.

JAMES ALLMAN, "Philosophy of Warfare," April 2, 140th street and Third avenue (30th and 35th A. D's), N. Y.

JAMES ALLMAN, "The Return of Caesar," March 31, 98 Avenue C, N. Y.

JAMES ALLMAN, "Poverty," April 2, 98 Avenue C, N. Y.

Technical reasons compel us to urge our contributors to the May Day issue to forward their promised articles at the very earliest date possible.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan

Brother Jonathan—Do you know that I find that, of all the impractical people the Socialists lead the van, take the cake and pie?

Uncle Sam—No, I didn't know that you had that notion.

B. J.—Don't call it a "notion"; it is something more solid; it is positive knowledge. Just see—

U. S.—I'm seeing.

B. J.—Just see: here are these Socialists wearing themselves off to a bone, plundering themselves, making all sort of sacrifice of time, money, efforts and whatever else they have at command in order to start a daily English paper—

U. S.—Is that an impractical idea?

B. J.—No; not that; there's nothing the matter with the idea; the idea is all right. A daily English paper to larrum those capitalist blood-sucking parasites, to pitch-fork and hold up to public execration that dirty gang of the capitalist press, to nail the capitalist politician's lying tongue every time it wags—

U. S.—Why, you are growing positively eloquent and sensible.

B. J.—Eloquence, true eloquence is but the uttering of sound convictions strongly felt. Who but the veriest mutton-head can fail to realize the damage done by the various mouth-pieces of the capitalist class, and who is there who does not understand that to check-mate this sponging class an English Socialist daily is needed, is the only thing that can do the work?

U. S.—I certainly agree with every word you just said; but it seems to me that, the more you say, the more you disprove your charge that the Socialists are impractical. A Socialist English daily is the only thing adequate to the emergency; the Socialists are straining every nerve in that direction; meseems you have proven their right judgment and supreme practical sense.

B. J.—Not at all; you have not heard me to the end. Just listen. A daily Socialist paper in English is needed. Now, what would a practical man do when he needs a thing, go about the easiest or the hardest way to get it?

U. S.—The easiest by a long majority.

B. J.—And that is just what the Socialists don't; they are going about it in the hardest way possible. It takes money, quite a stack, to set up a new paper; now they can have a paper without their making any sacrifice;—

U. S.—How? HOW?

B. J.—By simply giving encouragement by supporting an existing paper that is going their way,—

U. S.—Which???

B. J.—The New York "Journal."

U. S.—A swirl around on his heels and emits a shrill, loud, and protracted Indian whoop.

B. J.—Just as I feared; you are as impractical as the rest of them. Now, will you deny that these recent "Journal" editorials have in them a mighty good ring, a ring that is bound to captivate the popular heart?

U. S.—Will you deny that the bait with which you and I so carefully baited our hooks last Saturday, when we went out fishing, had a smell and taste about it that was bound to captivate the fish we were after?

B. J.—I won't deny that; and we succeeded, didn't we? What hawks we did make!

U. S.—And the "captivated" fishes, are they now better off or worse?

B. J.—What a question!

U. S.—Worse off, of course. And why?

B. J.—Because they bit our stuff.

U. S.—Their biting our stuff alone would not have caused their misfortune. Say we had dropped the stuff overboard and they had swallowed it; they would have fared well thereby; there was nothing bad in the stuff itself; the trouble to the fishes lay in the good stuff being BAIT,—having a hook inside of it. Not so?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—And so it is with your "Journal" editorials—

B. J.—Hey?

U. S.—They are baits; not one of them but conceals the hook of the capitalist, ready to yank the workers to their destruction. The editorial that howls at the wrongs done to Labor and does not add that Labor's only salvation is the conquest of the public powers; the editorial that howls against trusts and does not declare that the only way out is their public ownership; the editorial that howls against existing political parties and does not point out that their mischief lies in their having their roots in the capitalist system of the private ownership of the machinery of production; the editorial that does all this and does not herald the Socialist Labor party as the only party for the oppressed to flock to and carry to victory;—such editorial is but fishy bait to catch brainless fish with. The hook of a labor-skinner Hearsy will never catch us; nor will any other hook.

B. J. looks dumbfounded.

U. S.—It will be a cold day when the Socialist can be justly charged with being impractical, and colder yet when he is caught with bait. So far from its being as you said, the Socialists are giving just now a superme evidence of their unerring judgment, and of their practical sense. The cry that is now going up—"A DAILY PEOPLE"—aims at the most practical thing conceivable; it is a loud announcement that "No baits need apply!"

Allegheny Strike Fund.

Previously acknowledged \$25.00

A. Violi, Geneva, Ohio, 1.00

Total \$26.00

The State Committee, S. L. P., of Pennsylvania has issued the following call to the Sections of the State in particular and of the country in general:

Pittsburg, Pa., March 22, 1899.

Comrades:—The favorable settlement of the Schoen strike in Allegheny has aroused among the unorganized workers of Allegheny County and vicinity a sentiment in favor of the S. T. & L. A. They readily see the necessity of an organization based on the bed-rock of the class struggle. This strike, while it only lasted 10 days, yet the manner in which it was conducted, and especially the action of the company, clearly demonstrated to the workers the economic truth.

This strike, as conducted by our comrades, has been the greatest agitation we have had yet, it has won us hundreds of recruits and thousands of sympathizers among men who formerly were against us. While this sentiment is ripe we should take advantage of the situation and continue the agitation, we should at once place an S. L. P. organizer in the field, and an effort should be made to raise sufficient funds to cover the entire State between this and the fall election.

The District Alliance No. 15, S. T. & L. A., located here, is doing good work, they desire the State Committee to appeal to all Sections to assist them in their work of organization; they, too, desire to place an organizer in the field, but are hampered as this strike has cost them some money, especially the arrests that will follow, as some of the comrades have a clear case of false imprisonment; for instance, one comrade who had been kidnapped by a (Thug) special officer, taken unnoticed by anyone, and placed in an out-of-the-way lockup, kept there for three days, giving his friends no knowledge of his whereabouts; the comrades looking for him everywhere, making enquiries at the Central Police Station, and the daily newspapers giving daily notice of the "mysterious disappearance" of one of the members of the strikers' Executive Committee, and intimating that he had deserted the strikers; and yet despite all this publicity, the Allegheny authority kept quiet and did not release our comrade until the strike was settled. The matter is now in the hands of our attorney.

With a view of assisting District 15 in their present work and for the purpose of raising sufficient funds to place an S. L. P. speaker in the field and keep him there until at least the fall election, we ought to raise at least \$1,000. All Sections are requested to make every possible effort to raise the fund.

By order of State Committee, S. L. P., of Pennsylvania.

VAL REMMEL, Secretary.

75 Arlington avenue.

PITTSBURG, Pa.—The glass industry is about to form a District Alliance of the S. T. & L. A. The strike of the Alliance Locals of the trade for a 10 per cent. increase of wages has tied up the whole industry in the Pittsburgh, Pa., belt. An attempt is being made to reach out into Indiana, organize the trade there too into the Alliance, and in that way make victory certain all along the line. The A. F. of L. labor fakirs are doing all they can to break the strike through scabbing. But the Alliance controls the situation. The newspapers of Pittsburgh and vicinity learned their lesson in the Schoen strike. Although they know full well that the glass workers on strike, who caused the closing down of the factories in the middle belong to the S. T. & L. A., they never mention the fact. No free advertisement. The strikers are firm and meet daily at the S. L. P. headquarters.—E.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

ALLEGHENY;

Or Fake and Fact; or Fakirs and Factors.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by William Doran, Jersey City, N. J.]

There's a certain combination Of narration, of oration, Boisteration, and a begging that some things should cease to be.

There is also Arbitration, Fakiration (for a ration), In the Nation where the "friends of labor," twaddle to the "free."

There is always, near election, An injection of affection, Recollection of the workers by the shirkers;—Joking bluffs.

And a certain strong connection Dreads inspection and dissection, And detection of the liars, and the buyers, and the stuffs.

Turn your eyes to Allegheny, Oh, ye "leaders" and ye "brainy"! Every "pure and simple" fakir, ev'ry jay, All ye muddleheads, ye jealous, Ye dappolders and tell us, How you like the active S. T. & L. A.?

Daily PEOPLE Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged \$2,324.97

John McLean, Independence, Ind., 1.15

Anth. Cook, Berier, Mo., 1.00

Arbeter Saenger Bund, Utica, N. Y., (penny collection) 10.00

Total \$2,336.12

FOR MAJOR FUND.

E—O—E—, Abramovich, N. Y., \$2.00

SIGN-POSTS

That Will Have to Guide the Party For the Safe-Keeping of a "Daily People."

As the DAILY PEOPLE is casting its shadows before it, the practical question of the nature of the organization that, due to technical and legal exigencies, will have to be framed for its direct management, is looming up into importance. In the deciding of what the nature of that organization shall have to be the party may pick its way by the light of the experience that it is just now making with the organization that is publishing the "Volkszeitung."

The readers of THE PEOPLE will remember the three successive articles on the "Volkszeitung" in our issues of last December 25, January 1, and January 8. In the first two, the paper was called to account for its surreptitious and shy-cock attacks upon the party policy, and, in the third, notice was made of the runaway answer it gave upon these, and of the unanimous censure passed upon its Editor by the paper's Board of Directors, all but one being present at that meeting.

An attitude hostile to the S. L. P. was nothing new on the part of the "Volkszeitung." It is now only about four years ago, when it perpetrated a series of articles upon the proposed so-called "Plank 10" of the A. F. of L., holding a position in those articles that, apart from their general politico-economic unsoundness, hinted quite clearly at the advisability of the organization of a new "Labor" party, and supported its arguments by repeating certain slanders against Comrade Sanial that, at the time, were in vogue among the fakirs. Both THE PEOPLE and the party's German organ promptly attacked the "Volkszeitung." The matter—whether taken thither by the Editor of the "Volkszeitung" himself or someone else, we do not now recall—came before the old Section New York, with the result that the Editor of the "Volkszeitung" was censured and its Board of Directors was requested "to see to it that the paper's columns be not used as a telephone for the malice of the fakirs against party members."

—The matter ended there.

This time, the Editor of the "Volkszeitung" brought up the matter of the differences between THE PEOPLE and the "Volkszeitung," together with the censure passed upon him, before the Volkszeitung Publishing Association (officially known as the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association), and, after a protracted debate, the Association, by a vote of 62 against 28, rejected at its meeting of the 23d of last month, the action of the Board of Directors both with regard to the censure and their authorizing of its publication in THE PEOPLE.

When it is considered that the constitution of the Association expressly prescribes that its publications shall be edited in ACCORD WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND TACTICS OF THE S. L. P., the decision that the Association arrived at on the 23d, thus flying in the face of its own constitution, would be in itself suggestive enough; contrasted with the conduct of the Association in the instance of four years ago, afore mentioned, when, by its silence, approval was implied, its present attitude becomes still more interesting to watch. The details of the last-occurrence throw such a light upon the matter that they raise it to one of still greater interest; revealing a situation that is full of suggestions upon some of the rocks that the party will have to steer clear of for the safety of its oncoming English daily.

During the debate, with hardly an exception, those who supported the Editor of the "Volkszeitung" cheered the conduct that he was censured for on the ground that it was proper to attack the party policy. Again and again the statement was made by his supporters that "we must emancipate ourselves from the party"; again and again they declared that "it is time to resist the party policy"; again and again was the party's policy, not on the trades union question only, but on a score of other questions, roundly denounced and the conduct of the "Volkszeitung" in the matter at hand hailed as the turning over of a new leaf. Tolerance for Anarchists was demanded (Herrstein); the party was ridiculed (Herrlich); its membership and thereby itself was belittled; and the General Committee of Section Greater New York was pronounced hopeless and even corrupted (H. Stahl); a rupture between the party and the "Volkszeitung" was declared to threaten no harm to the paper (A. Jonas); the party's attitude towards Debsism was called "mud-slinging" (Köln); and, as a matter of course, THE PEOPLE came in for a full share of abuse, although most of its assailants do not and cannot read it, and none knows enough English to judge. And these statements received, one after another, generous applause.

Here was a palpable annulling of the Association's constitution, and of rebellion against the party. But palpable as the fact was, an incident removed all doubt that might linger on the subject. Here and there, during the debate, the less heated felt constrained to cover up the cloven hoof of their attitude; they sought to cloak it up with the claim that the "Volkszeitung" articles in question "were not attacks upon the party policy, and, consequently, were not a violation of the Association's constitution, but were merely the exercise of the just right of criticism." The veil was transparently thin, and was, in many an unguarded moment, torn through by the very ones who sought its protection. Nevertheless, the argument was made, its sincerity was brought to a test. Comrade Hugo Vogt offered the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The "Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association" was established by the Socialist Labor party for no other purpose than to gain supporters for the party through press publication; and the "Volkszeitung" is a publication of the Association; and the "Volkszeitung" articles in question "were not attacks upon the party policy, and, consequently, were not a violation of the Association's constitution, but were merely the exercise of the just right of criticism." The veil was transparently thin, and was, in many an unguarded moment, torn through by the very ones who sought its protection. Nevertheless, the argument was made, its sincerity was brought to a test. Comrade Hugo Vogt offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the poll tax be abolished.

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